5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Añy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century.

Today the *Caingué* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances.

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments.

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingué*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripá* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingué*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments.

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingué* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire.

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingué* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingué* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest.

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingué* prepare mead, which may be quite strong.

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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

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Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

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Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

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The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land,

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175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked
C whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people
G had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

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they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

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"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

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there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it provides us with two important clues about the first immigration of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

5. Moreno II, p. 90.

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Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori, since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní, after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through which they had previously passed.

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In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a Guaraní foray.

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The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with the various native groups of the lands through which they passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians, they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

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G1 continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially
175 those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these
648 as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When
[567] Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were
[727] coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque,
but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves. In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

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/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

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14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

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16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

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